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PROVISIONAL SUMMARY RECORD OF THE TWO THOUSAND ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-FOURTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Friday, 5 December 1975, at 3 p.m.

Chairman:	Mrs. JOKA-BANGURA	Sierra Leone
Rapporteur:	Mr. QUARTIN-SANTOS	Portugal

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(Mr. Adam, Somalia)

It had also, during the course of the debate, drawn attention to the prominent role which Ethiopia had played with the European Powers in the colonization of the north-eastern part of the Horn of Africa. The charges made by the representative of Ethiopia were not only dishonest and inaccurate but were characteristic of the policies which Ethiopia had been pursuing over the years. Consequently, his delegation would reserve the right to reply to them at the appropriate time.

QUESTION OF TERRITORIES UNDER PORTUGUESE ADMINISTRATION: REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE SITUATION WITH REGARD TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES (A/C.4/L.1125) (continued)

Mr. KHAN (Mozambique) said that for the past 15 years the entire world had followed the bloody struggle of the former Portuguese Territories that had been subjected to the savagery of colonialist forces whose soldiers had massacred entire villages. During that struggle, the liberation movements had waged political and diplomatic campaigns in order to obtain assistance, and its representatives had also appeared before the Fourth Committee. The results of the struggle for liberation had been twofold: the gradual liberation of the former Portuguese Territories and the influence on the situation in Portugal itself.

After the overthrow of the Portuguese Government, the new leaders of Portugal had been forced to decolonize Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe and Angola. They had also begun to settle the question of Timor but had then begun to attempt to paralyse the process of decolonization there. That attempt was reminiscent of the past when Portugal had attempted to present Guinea-Bissau with a fait accompli and had, ultimately, been one of the last countries to recognize Guinea-Bissau's independence. The people of Mozambique were familiar with such manoeuvres: on the day on which the agreement between the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO) and Portugal had been concluded at Lusaka, the Portuguese had attempted to stage a reactionary uprising during which attacks had also been made on FRELIMO's forces at Lourenço Marques. That uprising had been put down in a matter of days and the Portuguese forces had been forced to withdraw. Instead of being sent home to Portugal, however, they had been sent to Angola. Representatives of the Spinola Government had been busy visiting

(Mr. Khan, Mozambique)

Portuguese enclaves in various parts of the world in order to obtain support, with the primary objective of raising funds to support the Portuguese mercenaries in Angola in their armed conflict against the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA).

Angola had not been spared in the manoeuvres either: following the coup d'état in Portugal in 1974, the first Portuguese President of the new régime had met representatives of the two Angolan puppet groups, the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (UNITA) and the Frente Nacional para a Libertação de Angola (FNLA). From then on, he had taken personal charge of the decolonization of Angola. UNITA and FNLA, which had been hand-picked by Mr. Spinola, had joined forces with South African regular troops in their struggle against the Angolan people. South Africa's intentions were clearly to oppress and dominate Angola and, before Portugal had officially withdrawn from Angola, South African troops had invaded the Territory, as South Africa itself had confirmed. Portugal had failed to fulfil its undertaking to defend Angola's territorial integrity and had not even accused those who had perpetrated the invasion.

After the 1974 coup in Portugal, many members of the secret police had found shelter in Angola. Reactionary forces from Mozambique had also been welcomed by the rulers in Angola. All those forces - former secret police, mercenaries, right-wing officers and special troops - had joined with South Africa and Southern Rhodesia to assist FNLA and UNITA in their struggle against MPLA and the people of Angola.

The manner of Portugal's withdrawal from Angola, which had enabled the invasion to take place, was inconsistent with the traditional decolonization process followed by the international community. Portugal could not escape blame for what was taking place today in both Angola and East Timor. His delegation would not have criticized the new régime in Portugal, however, had not the latter attempted to conceal the truth of the situation.

In East Timor, the decolonization process was meeting the same obstacles. The Frente Revolucionária Timor Leste Independence (FRETILIN), the liberation movement of the Territory which had the support of the majority of the people, had met opposition from small groups that did not represent the people. Moreover, neighbouring countries had interfered in the decolonization process.

(Mr. Khan, Mozambique)

It was very surprising that Indonesia, which had such powerful military capacity and sophisticated weapons, had not assisted the liberation movements against the fascist and colonialist régimes. Indonesia had instead sent its armed forces into East Timor, affirming that FRETILIN had invaded its territory. Indonesia had also claimed the Territory of East Timor. In the confusion, FRETILIN, in order to safeguard the national integrity of East Timor, had recently been forced to declare its independence. The circumstances leading to that event were clearly set forth in Portugal's letter of 30 November 1975 addressed to the Secretary-General (A/10403). Mozambique had recognized the newly proclaimed Democratic Republic of Timor under the leadership of FRETILIN. The declaration of independence of East Timor was part of the emancipation movement of oppressed peoples and was consistent with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

The principle of self-determination could not be disregarded; the people must attain their inalienable rights whatever the cost. Mozambique believed that many other peace-loving nations of the world would also recognize the independence of the people of Timor. It strongly condemned foreign military intervention in the Territory, firmly rejected any territorial claim to any part of it by any other country, and supported Timor's territorial integrity.

In document A/10403, Portugal indicated that the other movements might also have declared the independence of Timor; it also claimed that FRETILIN had merely stated its intention to declare unilaterally the independence of the Territory.

The fact that Portugal objected to the declaration of independence and to the claim by foreign Powers to any part of Timor might make it possible for the liberation movements to reconcile their differences. Mozambique supported the position of FRETILIN, and did not recognize the anti-Communist movement (MAC) or the Associaçao Popular Democrática Timorense (APODETI), both of which had created difficulties concerning the holding of a conference. During the past few days, Portugal had used reports that high-powered military means were being deployed by land, sea and air in the area as a reason to urge that a conference should be held. His delegation doubted whether FRETILIN could be equipped with such military means; in fact, he understood that the representative of Portugal himself had indicated that one of the difficulties facing the people of Timor was

their lack of expertise and technicians. FRETILIN did not have the personnel capable of using sophisticated military equipment, which was evidently being used for aggression against the people of Timor. His delegation would welcome the dispatch of a visiting mission to the Territory, and understood that FRETILIN did not oppose such an idea.

In conclusion, he reiterated that his delegation recognized FRETILIN as the sole authority in the Territory.

Mr. JAIPAL (India) said that the text of draft resolution A/C.4/L.1125 as it stood might not be quite adequate for dealing with the current confused situation in Timor. It had been stated that the people of the Territory were divided in their aspirations, some of them wanting an independent status and others wanting to have the Territory integrated with Indonesia. In those circumstances, under General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1541 (XV), the wishes of the people of East Timor would have to be determined before their future political status could be decided.

Draft resolution A/C.4/L.1125 did not make clear which authority would give practical effect to its terms, for the purpose of restoring normal conditions in the Territory. In his delegation's view, that authority continued to be the legal responsibility of the administering Power, yet not a single paragraph in the draft resolution was addressed to the administering Power. Mere appeals to the political parties by themselves might not produce the desired results, however important such appeals might be. His delegation thought that the administering Power, which seemed to have lost control of the situation, should, if it considered it necessary, seek the co-operation of other countries in the area with a view to restoring peace and order, so that the people of East Timor might then freely exercise their right to self-determination. To that end, the administering Power should also hold talks with the political parties in the Territory. The total absence from the draft resolution of any operative paragraph addressed to the administering Power was most unusual. It had always been a matter of principle that the General Assembly should address its recommendations to the administering Power.

(Mr. Jaipal, India)

His delegation accordingly proposed that the fifth preambular paragraph of the draft resolution should be converted into operative paragraph 2 and that the words "Taking note of the positive attitude of the administering Power in making" should be replaced by the words "Calls on the administering Power to continue to make". The remaining operative paragraphs would be renumbered accordingly.

Mr. QUARTIN SANTOS (Portugal) said he wished to clarify his country's position on the question of the decolonization of Timor. Portugal had made clear at the beginning of the debate its wish to ensure the correct implementation of the decolonization process and had informed the Committee of its efforts to achieve that goal.

His Government had never intended to perpetuate its domination over any of the Territories under its administration. On the contrary, it wished to state most emphatically that, so far, all of them had attained independence under the provisions of the agreements concluded between Portugal and the national liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the United Nations, in strict compliance with the recommendations of those organizations. The seriousness and goodwill of Portugal's policy was not in doubt and had been duly recognized by the Special Committee of 24 and other bodies. In connexion with references that had been made during the debate to manoeuvres which undermined the process of decolonization of Portugal's Territories, he wished to state that his Government had always rejected and condemned such manoeuvres.

In the case of Portuguese Timor, Portugal was exerting all possible efforts, in accordance with the Charter, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and other relevant United Nations resolutions, to allow the people of the Territory to exercise freely their right to self-determination and independence.

That exercise presupposed that the people of Timor could, without any restraint or coercion, choose their future political status, whatever that might be. It was strictly for the people themselves, through serious and effective consultation, to make their choice among the various solutions put before them by the various political parties. Their free choice could not be replaced by the imposition of a solution by force, by any of those political parties or by a foreign Power.

(Mr. Quartin Santos, Portugal)

His delegation assumed that the United Nations would be able to contribute towards reaching a peaceful solution to the conflict and the proper completion of the decolonization process, in harmony with the principles of the United Nations, thus allowing the people of Timor to express their real wishes. The United Nations should therefore be directly aware of the real conditions prevailing in the Territory in order to ensure, under the best possible terms and without undue delay, the effective exercise of the right of self-determination by the people of Timor.

Mr. SANI (Indonesia) said he felt obliged to respond to the representative of Mozambique, who had referred to Indonesia. Indonesia had the greatest admiration for FRELIMO and the people of Mozambique, having once been in the same position and having struggled for its own independence and sovereignty.

If the full text of his earlier statement had been circulated, however, some of the allegations made by the representative of Mozambique might have been avoided. He wished to point out that Indonesia had no claim whatsoever to Portuguese Timor. Indeed, the people of Timor thought they had a claim to Indonesia, and considered themselves part of that country.

The situation in Timor was not the same as that in Africa. Perhaps the representative of Mozambique had been influenced by the fact that the name of FRETILIN resembled that of FRELIMO. In reality, they were quite different: FRELIMO had endured innumerable sacrifices in order to attain independence, whereas FRETILIN, like the other parties in Portuguese Timor, had been formed after the dictatorial Portuguese régime had been overthrown. In the days of the former Portuguese régime, some of the leaders of APODETI had tried to rise against Portuguese colonialism in Timor. Thus, in the struggle against Portuguese colonialism, the credentials of APODETI were as strong as, if not stronger than, those of the other parties in Timor.

His delegation rejected FRETILIN's claim to represent the majority of the people. In his statement, he had also emphasized that the people of Timor should be enabled to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and independence. Without a referendum, none of the various parties in Timor could prove that they had the backing of the people. Peaceful and orderly conditions must be established in Timor so as to enable the people to exercise their right to self-determination in peace and without coercion.

(Mr. Sani, Indonesia)

The representative of Mozambique had also referred to Indonesia's use of land, sea and air forces to intervene in Portuguese Timor. If that were really the case, the whole question of Timor would be quite different. He had explained Indonesia's difficulties and the provocations that it was facing. The unilateral declaration of independence by FRETILIN had created a very complicated situation in Timor. His delegation had said that it supported the idea of talks between Portugal and the other parties concerned. The difficulties were not of such a nature that unilateral decisions should be taken. The situation in Timor should be judged on the facts, not on the arguments put forward by one side or another. That was why his delegation felt that, at the appropriate time, a visiting mission should be sent to Timor.

Indonesia's interest in Timor was to ensure that conditions of peace and stability prevailed. It hoped that peace and order could be restored in Timor so that the people of that Territory would be able to exercise their right to self-determination.

Mr. ARAUJO (Guinea-Bissau) said that, in view of consultations taking place among certain delegations and the sponsors of draft resolution A/C.4/L.1125, he would like to request a suspension of the meeting in order to pursue the consultations and to find a basis for agreement.

The meeting was suspended at 5.10 p.m., and resumed at 6 p.m.

The CHAIRMAN announced that in view of the fact that 24 hours must be allowed for consideration of the amendments made to draft resolution A/C.4/L.1125, the question of Timor would be resumed at the following meeting. She also announced that Papua New Guinea had become a sponsor of the draft resolution.

REPORT OF THE TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL (A/10004)

The CHAIRMAN said that, as members were aware, in the light of developments relating thereto, the Committee had not taken up the item entitled "Report of the Trusteeship Council". In that regard, the Committee might perhaps

(The Chairman)

wish to request her to suggest to the President of the General Assembly that the Assembly might wish to conclude consideration of the item by taking note of the report of the Council as well as the related chapter of the report of the Special Committee on the item.

If she heard no objection, she would take it that that was the Committee's wish.

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 6.05 p.m.